THE NATION New York Edition

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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J. Edgar Hoover emerges as Lord High Executioner in crisis of democracy

By Lawrence Emery

UNHEARD last week in the uproar of the Brownell-Truman charges, counter-charges and counter-counter-charges was a melancholy proposal put forward by the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times**, arch-foe of McCarthy (11/11):

> If this dreary, insane business of impugning the loyalty and patriotism of our national leaders is to be the political pattern of our times, then let's go all the way. Let's ask Eisenhower and Dulles to explain their association with Alger Hiss.

John Foster Dulles recommended Hiss as president of the Carnegie Peace Foundation; Gen. Dwight Eisenhower was a member of the board of trustees which three times voted Hiss paid leaves of absence to defend himself, the last one in Dec., 1949, following the first Hiss trial.

THE DIRT-THROWERS: To many the proposal would seem no less preposterous than the charge of "spy-harboring" against Harry Truman, the man who started the spy-hunts, loyalty purges and Smith Act prosecutions. As Adlai E. Stevenson put it:

> "It is infamous that the man who has done more than anyone else to organize and fortify the free world against communism should be subjected to such malicious political attack."

No matter how infamous, the country was in for far more of the same "dreary, insane business." The GOP's smartest strategists were convinced they had a winning combination in full-back McCarthy and quarterback Brownell. The N.Y. **Daily News**, editorially practiced at groin-kicking and eye-gouging, advised (11/9):

> By vigorously, incessantly and justly throwing "party of Moscow" dirt at the Fair Deal Democrats, the Republicans might well remain in power for a generation to come.

"JOE WAS RIGHT": The **Wall St. Journal** (11/12) noted:

> For the first time since the GOP took over in Washington, many of the party's politicians think they have indeed hit upon a winning issue—the new evidence of Communists in government under the Democratic administration.

GOP chairman Leonard W. Hall happily announced that "communism is going to be one of the main issues," said it would eclipse such matters as high living costs and low farm prices. Joe McCarthy, he said, was

> ". . . right to this extent: that every move we made [to remove 'communists' from government] in the 14 years I was in Congress, was met by a stone wall so far as the administration was concerned."

'White Affair' gets poor notices abroad

There seems to be no limit to the suicidal stupidities invented by short-sighted politicians when they fear defeat in elections.—**Dagbladet**, Oslo.

More and more people in the U.S. begin to understand the McCarthy terror must be broken somehow.—**Tidningen**, Stockholm.

McCarthyism's . . . spreading results are a growing worry among the friends of America. —**Allgemeine Zeitung**, Frankfurt (W. Germany).

. . . Crowning folly of the witch-hunters. . . .—**Daily Herald**, London.

. . . An exhibition of political rowdyism. . . .—**News Chronicle**, London.

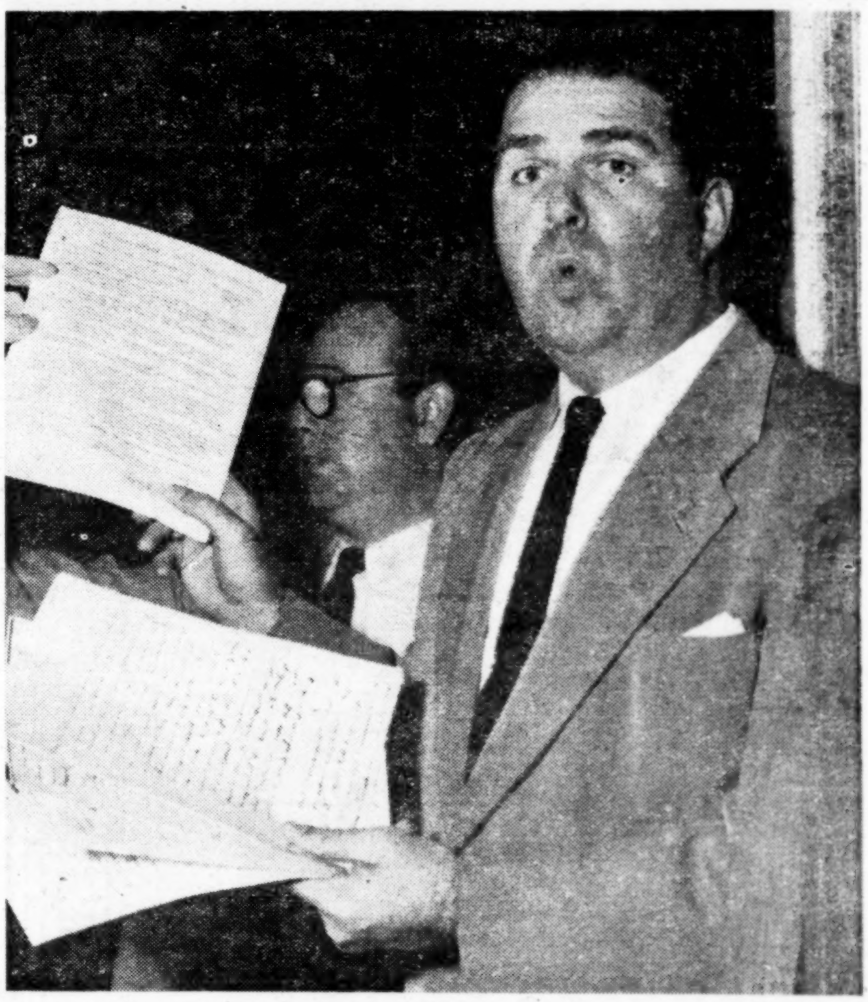
. . . A new record of stupidity and political cynicism. . . .—Moscow radio.

What authority can the U.S. President have in the world, at Bermuda, or elsewhere, if he shows such helplessness before the most delirious demonstrations of intolerance and hysteria?—**Franc-Tireur**, Paris.

Three days after the Republican election defeats, President Eisenhower has surrendered to McCarthy.—**New Statesman**, London.

TRIBAL GOD: To break down any remaining stones in the wall, GOP strategists on Nov. 17 brought out their most potent blockbuster, J. Edgar Hoover. Appearing as a "friendly witness" before GOP Sen. William E. Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee,

(Continued on Page 4)



They opened the pumpkin, and O-o-o-o-o-o-o!

Robert L. Kunzig, counsel of the Un-American Activities Committee, waves copies of notes allegedly in Harry Dexter White's handwriting which allegedly were found in the alleged pumpkin of Whittaker Chambers' farm in 1948—after White was dead. For more details of government-by-pumpkin, see left.

WAR & PEACE

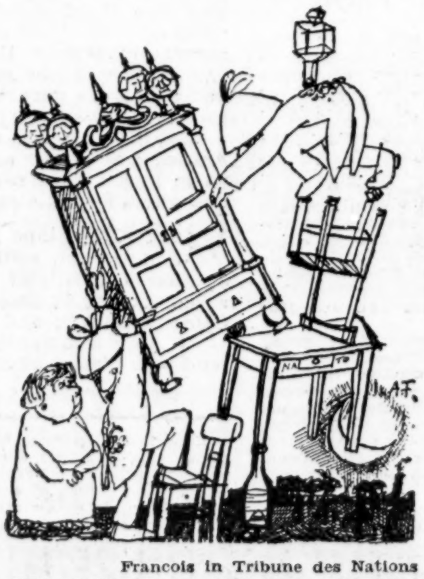
U.S. drive to rearm Germany will dominate Bermuda parley

By Tabitha Petran

REARMAMENT of W. Germany is still "the supreme goal of American foreign policy" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 11/5). This is the reality behind the Western notes to Moscow about Germany, initiated last July under rising pressure from European peoples for big-power talks to end the cold war. The note-sending chapter ended last week, so far as the West is concerned, with rejection of Moscow's latest proposals to negotiate a settlement.

The Western notes, propagandized as evidence of a willingness to negotiate, have been so rigged with conditions as to make any talks a formality. They have barred discussion of the key issue, German rearmament, and ignored concrete Soviet proposals: for a conference to draw up a peace treaty with Germany (the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft treaty 18 months ago, but the West has still to comment or submit drafts of its own); for the setting up of an all-German government to hold all-German elections (rather than elections dominated by foreign troops); for examination of the question of easing Germany's financial and economic obligations arising from the war.

BROTHER "LIBERATORS": Washington's real position was stated by President Eisenhower on July 23, when he wrote to Bonn Chancellor Adenauer that W. German integration into the European Army (E.D.C.) was not incompatible with German unity, which was to be achieved by disintegration of the "Communist Empire." The President thus identified the U.S. with Adenauer's' goal: "Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European Army is to be able to recover our eastern territories" (12/13/51).



Francois in Tribune des Nations

"No, madame, we can't guarantee that it won't fall on top of you."

The sending of notes to Moscow was begun only as a concession to public opinion. Washington's eagerness to end it was apparent in the propaganda offensive painting Moscow's Nov. 3 note as a "rejection" of Western overtures, and as marking

> . . . the end of a short-lived era of Soviet foreign policy, an era which gave rise to great hopes that are now virtually dead (N. Y. **Times**, 11/9).

COMMON SENSE: But the Nov. 3 note did not mark the end of the socialist-world peace initiative. Together with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's unusual press conference in Moscow on Nov. 13, and the UN speeches of delegate Vishinsky, it comprised an intensified phase of a broadly-developing diplomacy aimed at relaxing tension by discussing and settling its causes. Washington, with U.S. press aid, is to an unprecedented degree suppressing and distorting this Soviet diplomacy.

In his barely-reported press conference, Molotov stressed the urgency of Big Four Foreign Ministers' talks on the German problem, which he charged the West "seeks to subordinate . . . to the aim of accelerating remilitarization." He made the common-sense points that U.S. relations with China must be normalized if tension is to be relaxed in Asia; that agreement to hold a five-power conference including China would be "a real step forward."

SMOG OVER BERMUDA: Washington faces an impossible task to convince Europeans "who believe in the possibility of negotiating an accommodation with Russia that their hopes are unfounded" (**NYHT**, 11/5); the conflicting reports about next month's Bermuda conference already make this clear. In Washington, Bermuda is described as "a turning-point in Western policy" which—with all idea of negotiation abandoned—will give full-speed-ahead on German rearmament. Bonn sees Bermuda as opening the door to restoration of its full sovereignty. In London the public is pictured as "completely confused" by alternating reports that Churchill will or will not pursue his goal of talks with Soviet Premier Malenkov, a confusion bred by Churchill's own statements.

In France, the lame-duck Laniel government, scheduled to resign following the Dec. 17 Presidential elections, was acutely embarrassed by the "problem of how to reconcile the irreconcilable"—the pro- and anti-E.D.C. advocates splitting not only the country but the cabinet (**Christian Science Monitor**, 11/13), and able to save its brief existence only by promising to take no "long-term" decisions at Bermuda.

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Reuben Borough's stand

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Out of nearly 40 years of experience as a progressive independent in California politics I endorse 100% your editorial statement on the New York election and the basic logic of Marcantonio's telling critique—regretting, however, his decision to sever party relations.

Some of us are not young. We remember. The tides of retreatism and escapism have broken around us before. The lure of fusion—of collaboration, "coalition," call it what you will—is not new. It rises out of either the honest but naive beliefs of the politically immature or the impatient desires of the morally distorted. Consciously or unconsciously, the position taken is that there is an easier and a safer strategy than the strategy of open attack, that if we can only develop enough skill in "coalition" we can then sneak up on 'em (rear door entrance) and capture 'em. These and other methods of "progressive" infiltration of the Dixie-controlled Democratic Party and the "liberalization" of the Democratic grass-roots leadership by contact and pressure are being urged upon us.

Along with Marcantonio and the GUARDIAN, I dissent. I hold for the open war of ideas. Our job is not a job of conference with the politicos of either of the old parties. Our job is not "coalition" based on the inevitable minimum program which evades or soft-pedals the issues of American imperialism and the treasonable usurpation by the American government of the basic rights and powers of American citizens.

Our job is to go direct to the people—across the old party lines—with our whole intellectual arsenal, with blazing platforms and uncompromising candidates, who still believe in the power of the idea. This is the kind of strategy in which the American people have shown their faith in the great crises of our history. It is the exhilarating and effective technique of democracy. And again today it will build a people's party where the tortuous approaches and the elaborate rationalization of "coalitionism" must fail. There is no isolation in our independent role—over and over again, our history emphasizes this. There is isolation (and death) only in the embrace of the politicos.

Twice in my own memory has fusion wiped out people's movements of great potential power: in 1896, when the Populists were swallowed up by the Bryan Democrats; and in 1934 when the Epic movement "captured" the Democratic Party only to find itself immediately crushed in the coils of the Bourbon party machine.

There is still time for us to revitalize our party. First proof that we are setting about it will come when we decide, as a matter of profound principle, that we will run Progressive Party candidates for Governor in 1954 both in New York and California.

My grateful appreciation for the tonic effect of your editorial statement and for relaying to us the moving eloquence of Marcantonio's words.

Reuben W. Borough

Reuben W. Borough, vice-chairman of the Ind. Progressive Party of California, was the party's candidate for U. S. Senate in 1952. Running against Sen. Knowland he polled over 550,000 votes. He was an organizer of a citizens' revolt that recalled corrupt Los Angeles Mayor Frank Shaw in 1938 and elected Mayor Fletcher Bowron. Ed.

How crazy can you get dept.

PORT RUSH, No. Ireland—It is not the primitive peoples and tribes of the earth who are threatening the rest of us with insecurity, the risk of war, mass persecution and the concentration camp, Dr. Eric Ashby of Queen's Univ. reminded a teachers' conference here. These threats come from the most highly educated peoples, Dr. Ashby said, posing the question: "Do we need compulsory education at all?"

—Denver Post, July 12.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: L. B. Good, Monte Vista, Colo.

Congratulations—forgiven

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Sorry I'm late with contributions for October and November to the Buck of the Month Club. My baby was born on Sept. 30 and in the rush and excitement I unfortunately neglected outside obligations.

Harriet Holtzman

Tears of pearl

MELROSE, MASS.

The millionaire Alvan T. Fuller who, as Governor of Massachusetts, thought he could qualify as President of the U. S. by the murder of the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti, has just given $150,000 more to his church. The pain of such sacrifice had him "close to tears," according to the devoted press. When he arrives at the pearly gates waving his $150,000 ticket of admission, he will be faced by a credentials committee headed by an agitator called Jesus Christ and two "anarchist bastards" (as the judge in the case called them)—the good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler. They will remind Fuller that a rich man has as much chance of getting into heaven as a camel has of getting through the eye of a needle.

Frank Collier

Or, as expensively

MORENO HIGHLAND, CALIF.

Joe McCarthy received $100,000 in wedding presents. Now, at least, two can live as cheaply as one investigating committee.

Collier Kerr

Washington cows

PORT LUDLOW, WASH.

With a diet of Life, Time and Reader's Digest (Xmas presents from politically illiterate relatives) your paper is a welcome dessert. On current farm income, only now am I able to scrape enclosed bill up to take care of my long overdue subscription renewal and a little extra.

Enjoyed the article on farm crisis in your last issue even though realizing that Benson nor Brannan nor godallmighty can resolve the conflicting forces of agricultural production under the system.

On the other hand, must take exception to statement in article of previous issue on Russian agriculture which says, "Although milk yields average less than than half U. S. yields, the best managed collective farms consistently average two-three times the U. S. yield per cow." A high herd recently exhibited in our state had an average of 19,000 lbs. milk with 525 lbs. of butter fat. To triple that would be like asserting that all of the best managed cows had triplets. But who wants high yields anyway, it only means more surplus to pile up.

E. Guthrie

Letter of the Month Club

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One of the most important things the people can do is to let their voices be heard. I propose a **Letter of the Month Club.**

The reactionaries have control of the press, radio, TV and other means of communication. That is why it is vital that those who want peace and civil liberties give their views to the public.

Make your letters short and as temperate as possible. Make them timely and do it while the news is fresh. If a TV or radio program annoys you, pick up your phone and tell the station what you think.

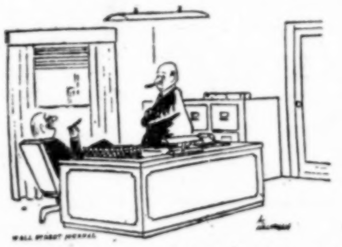
A Reader

O. K.

BLOOMING PRAIRIE, MINN.

As a charter member of the GUARDIAN family can say I got a lot of pleasure and valuable information which I otherwise would not have got. As a birthday gift am enclosing $10. With congratulations and best wishes, I remain your 87-year-old subscriber.

O. K. Benson



Wall Street Journal

"Business is terrific—but it'll pick up."

Ain't no cures?

HAVERHILL, MASS.

The one who signs himself "Anti-pseudo" in the Mailbag, Nov. 2, criticizes Debs for taking a "rest" at a naturopathic sanatorium instead of being cured perhaps (?), by taking an injection of diseased blood (scientically prepared) from an inoculated cow. I hope Debs' friends were not annoyed because Debs did not respect their medical knowledge and opinion. As a matter of fact, Debs contracted heart disease while in prison and so already had heart trouble at the time of his release.

As to "objective testing," I saw no cures as the result of sera inoculations and I worker in six different hospitals. How much more "objective" can you get? There "ain't no cures."

Anti-pseudoscience

Germs and culture

HOOD RIVER, ORE.

"Anti-pseudo" will surely hear from many of your readers continuing the controversial "germ theory of polio," a particularly interesting problem in the light of germ warfare possibilities.

Perhaps "Anti-pseudo" thinks the AMA practices politics with one set of standards and medicine with another. I suggest he read the story of Dr. Bethune, who concluded that the causes of TB are sociological—ignorance, poverty, bad nutrition and so forth—and since the logic of his life caused him to require cures, he gave his life attacking causes in a social and scientific struggle.

Certainly we know that germs are present in disease, including polio. We also know that the germ is often present when no disease occurs or when the disease occurs in a mild or unrecognizable form. The special conditions that must be present before critical illness can strike are low natural resistance or perhaps a most virulent germ (a freak of nature).

We reason that the primary cause is the total situation. The conditions plus the germ. The AMA, for reasons that are too venal to mention, does not tamper with the culture in which its sacrosanct germ grows, and fights anyone with a profound intolerance for disease whose only weapons are pure air, pure water, unadulterated food—in short, a human environment. (Note how McCarthy attacks anyone with a profound intolerance for social disorder).

If Anti-pseudo is truly anti-pseudo (to be sure there are crackpots among the nature cure people) he should know that the enemy is the powerfully entrenched pseudo, the AMA.

Let me recall the commonly used phrase, "germ-laden smog." Are you going to blame your smarting eyes or your lung cancer on the germ or the smog? The answer is to be found in the fight industrialists are now making in the city of Portland, Ore., against pure air measures. And the mayor says it is not a real problem. Hear that, Los Angeles?

Don Shawe

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"Since wars began in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."—CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

REPORT TO READERS

Anniversary Dinner a smash hit; You can get a recording of it

IN THE VERY TEETH OF THE GALE kicked up last week by the snollygosters in Washington, the GUARDIAN staged a rip-snorter of a Fifth Anniversary dinner party at the Hotel Commodore in New York. In a big, cheering, singing, laughing, generous, overflowing way, the GUARDIAN birthday celebration was the retort beautiful to any notion that the ill winds of Brownell-Hoover-Jenner might have driven folks into their storm cellars.

The celebrants filled the Commodore's Century Ballroom to capacity, easily 500 strong. They heard Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as keynoter and toastmaster and brief and brilliant messages from Miss Thelma Dale of the Progressive Party, Ring Lardner Jr. of the Hollywood Ten, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, sister of the late Collis English of the Trenton Six, the Hon. Vito Marcantonio and Emanuel H. Bloch, defense counsel for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and guardian of their sons.

THE SPEAKERS each lit a big candle for one of the five years of the GUARDIAN; some of the folks from the famous Weavers sang lovely and lusty songs; and, led by Carl Marzani, author of **We Can Be Friends**, the assembled guests sent their favorite newspaper on into its sixth year with a most generous round of contributions.

Our editor, Cedric Belfrage, closed the evening with a political allegory about the "Free World" which — like the emperor in Hans Andersen's fairy tale — has no clothes on at all; but only one wondering small boy dared say so because of the repression of the times.

Of course our editor had in mind for the small-boy role our own NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which has been pointing out to the Free World for some time its lack of decent apparel—and, as you know, Editor Belfrage has been having his ups and downs with Joe McCarthy and the McCarran-Walter go-back-where-you-came-from law, because he has been so impolite as to point.

IN THE WEE HOURS after the party some of our folks came up with the notion that a certain small chap from Independence, Mo., has the most golden opportunity ever handed anyone to do some important pointing. We mean in the direction of that most fanciful fabricator of the Free World's "wardrobe," J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Truman has made a fine start by calling McCarthyism by its right names. To point to the emperor's real nakedness — the fact that Harry Dexter White was a great patriot and the spy-scare a hoax from the outset to destroy the New Deal — would take quite some doing for Harry, who presided over the birth of the hoax. But having been called a liar anyway by Hoover, Harry could do much worse than admit all his errors and put some decent clothes back on America — by being first to dare expose the fraudulent tribal god, J. Edgar Hoover, and the police-state methods he represents.

Maybe this, too, is fanciful — but it's no fancy that our Anniversary party was a magnificent evening, demonstrating when it was most needed that courage is contagious and anyone who knows the score on McCarthy might catch the virus.

WE TOOK a tape recording of our party — music and all — and are now editing it into an LP platter. Already a dozen or more GUARDIAN communities from here to Goshen have asked for one of these records, to have a local get-together of GUARDIAN folk and join in the fun.

If your community would like one, drop us a line and we'll send your platter along as soon as the recordings can be pressed.

John T. McManus

THE BANKERS BURNED WHEN HIS NAME CAME UP

Harry White was this kind of a man

By C. B. Baldwin

Natl. Secy., Progressive Party

(Second of three articles)

WHY EISENHOWER WAS FOR THE MORGENTHAU PLAN

The general (extreme left) inspects a pile of human embers at the concentration camp at Gotha, Germany, in 1945. Do you remember, Mr. President?

TWENTY years ago Franklin D. Roosevelt promised to "drive the money changers out of the temple." Harry Dexter White probably did more than any other single person to help him implement that promise to the people.

White won public recognition largely because of his work in setting up the Intl. Monetary Fund and the Intl. Bank. Less known was his influence on Roosevelt's domestic policies—particularly great because the place to halt the New Deal was through finance. As assistant to Treasury Secy. Morgenthau, White stood guard against these attacks, fought ably and courageously to find money for the unemployed, for public works, for social security.

In any government, it is the Treasury Dept. which is apt to drag its feet on projects designed to help the people. The usual excuse is that the projects are "fine but we haven't the money." White constantly insisted that the Treasury could afford the money to take care of the people.

FROTHING BANKERS: Naturally, the New Deal's enemies were always out to get him; bankers almost frothed at the mouth about him. White came to Washington after the cleanup of the Hoover Treasury, to which the big bankers had pipelines day and night. All the New Dealers in the beginning were contemptuous of the bankers who had done so much to ruin the country. But White was especially so and, unlike most of the others, didn't change.

Here are some of the reasons why the money-changers now returned to the temple are branding White, now five years dead, a "Soviet spy."

WHITE AT WORK: It was White who fought succeessfully to keep interest rates low through all the 12 F.D.R. years. Low government interest rates mean low private rates—on mortgages for homes, loans for farmers, small businessmen, etc. This policy saved the public billions of dollars, but it cost the bankers profits, and they hated it. In its first month in office, the Eisenhower Administration—in contrast to its stalling on every other problem—pushed up interest rates (they'd already gone up some under Truman); it has been doing that ever since. The Eisenhower-banker interest rate policy is drying up mortgages on homes, farms, etc.—costing the public billions, the more billions now because the debt is so much greater, while bankers' profits soar.

It was White who defeated the bankers' World War II attempts to put over a sales tax, which hurts poor people the most. He insisted the war could be financed without it by deciding how much should be paid by corporations, how much by the people; and the war was so financed. Today's Administration is planning to replace the excess profits tax with a sales tax disguised as a "manufacturers' excise tax."

It was the Treasury and White especially who led the fight within the government to ban scrap-iron and oil shipments to Japan when it invaded China; who lent money on Loyalist Spain's silver—the only aid given the Spanish Republic by a western government; who made loans to Nationalist China before the war to help it resist Japanese aggression.

NAZIS FORESTALLED: White's working-out of Roosevelt's policy of financial aid to countries suffering aggression earned him the hatred of America Firsters and Wall St. generally. Before we entered the war, the Treasury seized the assets here of various European countries overrun by Hitler, thereby preventing Nazi use of them for subversion and sabotage in the U.S. These measures were devised and fought for by White and put into effect as soon as State Dept. opposition was overcome.

White was in charge of a committee which kept Britain's financial position under review and took the successive steps which broadened lend-lease shipments so that Britain could survive. These were the key decisions on lend-lease.

MORGENTHAU "PLOT": During the war it was White and the Treasury who constantly agitated for getting things done, for effective mobilization at home, in contrast to the go-easy attitude of the bankers and industrialists increasingly brought into government.

He played a key role in plans for demilitarizing and denazifying Germany. Roosevelt, Morgenthau and White all believed the hardest problem of the peace was going to be Germany and that, unless Germany was purged of militarists and Nazis, the peace would be of short duration. Time and again Morgenthau and White raised with the President objections to the soft peace being planned in the War and State Depts. White undoubtedly saw many versions of the Morgenthau Plan; which he may have approved I don't know.

This plan, now denounced by the Jenner Committee as "a Communist plot to destroy Germany and weaken her to where she could not help us," was drawn up during a war against Germany! The Jenner Committee accuses Morgenthau of being an "unconscious" Soviet agent because he advocated the plan. By this definition so was F.D.R.—whose policies, overwhelmingly supported by the people in four elections, are the real target of these spy accusations. (Incidentally, the U.S.S.R. has always opposed the so-called Morgenthau Plan.)

THE BIG SWITCH: The key to White's role in German policy was his insistence on demilitarization and denazification; in this, as in so many other questions, his views accorded with F.D.R.'s. Under Truman, U.S. policy turned from the aim of extirpating German militarism to that of rebuilding it as fast as possible as a "bulwark" against the U.S.S.R.—just the role Hitler assigned Germany.

Even before the U.S. entered the war, White was working on machinery for post-war international financial co-operation, to help prevent the frictions so evident in the 1930's in the fields of foreign exchange and investment. His draft plans for the IMF and Intl. Bank were negotiated with technicians of other countries during the war and approved by all the United Nations as early as 1944. In this work he had the co-operation of progressive economists from all over the world including Lord Keynes, then a dominant figure in the British Treasury. It was White's plan, not Keynes', which was adopted.

The charters of these two institutions still breathe ideals of mutual financial assistance, expanded world trade, settlement of disputes around the conference table. But the institutions, under U.S. influence, have fallen into the hands of the international bankers, who have seen to it that very little of this work has been accomplished.

THE DOSSIERS: White was a courageous fighter for the things he believed in. I never saw anybody in a government conference who took him on successfully. He was able, acute, sharp in discussion, and often very rude, especially to bankers. His enemies pictured him as a Svengali. In fact, his influence derived from his real ability and the close accord of his views with Roosevelt's.

All during the New Deal period the FBI was busy putting together dossiers on the New Dealers for use at some future time. The New Deal's enemies wanted to "get" White, perhaps more than any other person; admissions now that they opened his mail, tapped his phone (**NYT**, 11/13) show to what lengths they went. The FBI accusations were turned over in late 1945.

President Truman now says that he kept White in office as a "decoy." But he is forced to admit that he, the future Chief Justice (then Treasury Secy.) Fred Vinson and Justice Clark, then Atty. General, reviewed and weighed the evidence and found it wanting.

WHAT IT MEANS: The bipartisan attempt to smear White and other genuine New Dealers as "Soviet spies" is an attempt to halt before it gets started the fight for a second and better New Deal—which must come if the people act together in their economic self-interest—and the fight for peace, which is essential to that New Deal.

The people have not been won for a new war. Only last month a Gallup Poll showed 79% of voters favor a top-level meeting with Moscow to settle the cold war. This is directly contrary to the policies not only of Eisenhower but of Truman, and to eight years of cold-war propaganda.

In C. B. Baldwin's first article (GUARDIAN, Nov. 16) there occurs this phrase: "By 1937 . . . all the early New Dealers—men like A. A. Berle Jr., Raymond Moley, Rexford Tugwell—had gone sour or been transferred out of Washington." No implication was intended that Tugwell had "gone sour." He was an outstanding fighter all through the Roosevelt administration.

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America. GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.

CALIFORNIA

How the GOP won in the 24th

THE political eyes of the nation on Nov. 10 were focussed on California's sprawling 24th Congressional District's special election to fill the vacated post of former Rep. Norris Poulson, recently elected mayor of Los Angeles. But less than half the district's 150,000 registered voters went to the polls.

The official GOP candidate, McCarthy-endorsed State Assemblyman Glenard P. Lipscomb, was elected. His victory brought Republican leaders to the nation's microphones to reassure one another that the grassroots trend against the Administration had ended.

Lipscomb defeated, by about a 4 to 3 ratio, attorney George Arnold, son of F.D. Roosevelt's trust-busting Atty. Gen. Thurmond Arnold, son-in-law of newspaper columnist Drew Pearson and official anti-McCarthy candidate of the Democratic Party and AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, pension groups.

PROGRESSIVE ROLE: Never officially endorsed by the Ind. Progressive Party, Arnold had nevertheless "repudiated" in the press its action in calling for defeat of Lipscomb and the IPP urging of progressives in the district to work as individuals for Arnold's election. Progressive leaders had forecast a possible defeat because oldline politicians and right-wing labor leaders around Arnold maneuvered the campaign into a major preoccupation with defensive redbaiting and screening precinct workers.

Arnold openly attacked McCarthyism, called for an FEPC, decried high prices and sales taxes; but his campaign literature dripped "anti-communism" and played down sharp issues. Many volunteer campaign workers complained and refused to distribute some campaign pieces. One of these was a mailing of 10,000 toy toothbrushes with a brochure explaining to the voters that they may buy a toothbrush for 50c but the Russians must labor half a day to afford the luxury.

However, Arnold raised some issues in a manner to alarm the GOP enough to bring the heaviest artillery to the 24th.

In the same election, the GOP won two State Assembly races against labor-backed Democrats, and lost a third to union-endorsed Democrat Frank G. Bonelli, mayor of Huntington Park.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

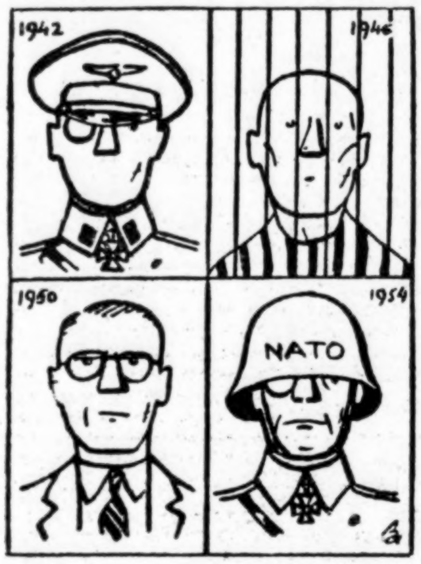
As banker James P. Warburg points out in his book **Germany, Key to Peace,** U.S. rearmament of W. Germany is a "headlong rush to disaster" which can only lead to "another world conflict." Washington's effort to paint the West as united behind this "solution" to the German problem is contrary to fact. W. German rearmament runs counter not only to W. European public opinion, but to the national interests of Britain, France, all W. European countries and the U S. itself.

Britain is cold to E. D. C., but can't play desired role

Britain has closely associated itself with the U. S. in pushing for W. German rearmament, forcing France to subordinate itself to a resurgent Germany, restoring the power of German imperialism, underwriting the Bonn-Washington crusade to the East by indefinite commitment of its troops to W. Germany. But Britain has refused to participate in E.D.C. or in any other of the "supra-national" organizations built around W. Germany; it fears, as its press concedes, to lose control of its army and territory to Nazi and U. S. generals.

British policy aims to play again its traditional balance-of-power role toward W. Europe; but its dependence on Washington makes this impossible, and it is only alienating France and other W. European countries. Churchill's blunt warning to France at Margate, Oct. 10, that a Germany army will be brought directly into NATO if E.D.C. is not ratified, shows that his proposal for talks with Moscow was designed to give Britain some bargaining position as against the U. S. rather than to open the door to a broad cold-war settlement. Britain's humiliating capitulation, at the recent London Foreign Ministers' talks, to Adenauer's veto of its proposals for "security guarantees" to Moscow underlined Churchill's scant success.

"THIS IS MUNICH": Britain's policy today is a repetition of its post-World War I policy which nearly led to its extinction. German rearmament "is scarcely more appealing in Britain than it is in France" (**NYHT,** 11/5). The Labour Party demands negotiations with Moscow before rearming Germany.



Ex-Service News, London

In the House of Lords recently, Viscount Stansgate spoke for the majority in Britain when he said:

> "The essence of the Munich policy was to try to mobilize the Germans against the Bolsheviks. That is exactly what we are doing today. This is a Munich policy."

France offered choice: 'Death by poison or cholera'

France is paralyzed by the fight over E.D.C. ratification, which would make France a W. German satellite; and over the Indo-China War, opposed by the majority and kept going only at U. S. demand. So great is the opposition to E.D.C. that

> . . . even some of its partisans realize that active hostility to the scheme inside the Army and the French Administration would make the practical application of the treaty, even if ratified, difficult if not impossible (**CSM,** 11/13).

From left to right the French press is bitter. Typical was the comment of **Tribune des Nations** editor Andre Ullmann: "French policy no longer exists except as a reflection of discussions between American politicians." Reaction to Churchill's Margate threat was strong. **Le Monde** called it "blackmail"; **Liberation** said it was equivalent to asking: "Which way would you rather die—of poison or cholera?"

Voice of America

Only one U.S. newspaper that has come to the GUARDIAN's attention has opened its columns to the heart of the White affair—the real motives, the President's personal complicity, and the question of whether White was in fact a "spy" at all. Accompanying a number of forthright readers' letters the Washington Post notes (11/15) that "to date all the letters received . . . have been critical of Mr. Brownell." Some excerpts from the letters:

> . . . The President was at least an "accessory before the fact" and as such shares equal responsibility for it with Brownell.
>
> . . . Eisenhower has surrendered completely to the McCarthy wing of his party. . . .
>
> . . . We may expect at some future time to have either Mr. Brownell or Mr. McCarthy denounce even Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dewey as . . . Red agents. . . .
>
> . . . Mr Brownell's propensities for using a cloud of mud to obscure the mistakes of his Administration. . . .
>
> . . . It is enough to make one wince at the word "crusade." . . .
>
> . . . Since the case of Mr. White has never been considered by a court of law, how is it possible to announce a verdict? . . . By American precepts, anyone accused of a crime is considered innocent until proven guilty . . . after a fair trial.
>
> . . . Grey Curtain justice. . . . Without trial and conviction, they [the "spies" named by Elizabeth Bentley] are already guilty by mere designation.
>
> . . . I wonder if there might be a small investigation to learn where dignity has gone.

TOP NAMES JOIN FIGHT: In the van of the fight against E.D.C. have been Gen. de Gaulle, who told the press Nov. 13 France should seek direct arrangements with Moscow; Edouard Herriot, president of the Assembly; Edouard Daladier, the "man of Munich," who is also leading the fight to end the Indo-China War. (On Tuesday when Gaullists and other right-wingers sponsored a motion in the Assembly to reject all current projects for W. Europe's military, economic and political integration, Daladier objected to the wording and did not join them.) Washington's attempt to impose German rearmament was spurring new political alignments which might lead to a new popular front.

In Italy, **NYT's** C. L. Sulzberger noted (11/18):

> . . . The moral isolation that for so long secluded the post-war communist parties . . . has ended. . . . The rising role in Italy of Pietro Nenni, fellow-traveling Socialist leader, is now an important shadow on the horizon. . . . [He] . . . is being seriously discussed as a potential foreign minister.

When Washington tried to buy Italian ratification of E.D.C. by its Oct. 8 decision on Trieste, the backfire illustrated how self-defeating is its pursuit of its "supreme goal."

LOOK AT THE FACTS: Washington has already made W. Germany the dominant power in W. Europe, and in so doing—as Warburg shows in his book —lost the power of decision on the continent. The result of Washington's policy, he writes,

> . . . will be either World War III or a Europe dominated by a renewed Russo-German alliance. The latter would probably mean merely a postponement of World War III and a serious worsening for us of the conditions in which we should eventually have to fight it.

In his view the only German solution compatible with U. S. security and interests is unification of a neutral Germany. This is just what the U. S. S. R. has continued to propose.

There is a basis for negotiation with Moscow over Germany. What blocks it is Washington's continued pursuit of the containment policy, which has failed, and its refusal to recognize that the cold war is obsolete.

J. Edgar Hoover

(Continued from Page 1)

Hoover, with the skill of an experienced executioner, put to death the elaborate excuse Harry S. Truman had presented to the nation the night before. Hoover bluntly denied the former President's story that Harry Dexter White (see p. 3) had been retained in the government and promoted in order not to endanger a vast FBI investigation centering around him.

The Senators treated the political policeman as a tribal god, above reproach and beyond criticism, whose least utterance had scriptural weight. Hoover left the hearings, reported the N. Y. **Times'** James Reston (11/18), "as the decisive witness and probably the most powerful figure on Capitol Hill." Raucous journalists were ecstatic; columnists John O'Donnell of the McCormick-Patterson papers wrote:

> A century hence, if our Republic still survives in its tradition of freedom, our children's children will be reading in their history books how FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover told the U. S. Senate of his efforts to block the Communist conspiracy of the Roosevelt-Truman era to overthrow the Government of the United States.

"REPORTEDLY . . .": For this timeless performance Hoover relied upon his FBI files, described in **The Nation** (11/21) by H. H. Wilson, Princeton University Prof. of Politics, as consisting of

> . . . every imaginable kind of information and misinformation, ranging from petitions signed in college days to neighborhood suspicions based on idiosyncrasies, odd hours, loud radios, or late parties. Anonymous poison-pen letters, solicited by the FBI, gossip, rumor, hearsay, the rantings of cranks, the well-refreshed recollections of professional ex-Communists—along with any actual incriminating material the police may have dug up—are also included.

Harry Websterizes Joe

"His [McCarthy's] name has taken on a dictionary meaning in the world. And that meaning is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism and security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society."

Harry S. Truman, Nov. 17, 1953.

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, who preceded Hoover on the stand, revealed the nature of the FBI file on White when he presented his own "evaluation" of its "essence" to support his charge that White "was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him." His recital was strung together with these words and phrases: "allegedly"; "reportedly"; "it could be presumed"; "from all appearances"; "according to the information received"; "it was also reported." Brownell said there was corroborative evidence, but it "can't be made public."

HOOVERIZATION: The GOP's lyrical acceptance of the Hoover gospel meant that the structure of the U. S. government under the Eisenhower Administration is now founded on a paper base of police spies' unverified suspicions and accusations; no person may occupy a government post henceforth unless his dossier is spotless by Hoover standards.

As the GOP's new dispensation evolved, one day's sensation was blotted out by the next. Almost forgotten last week were the contradictions and self-contradictions, the backtrackings, evasions and plain dishonesties of the week before. Harry Truman's spectaular radio and TV appearance Monday night—he commanded what was possibly the biggest audience ever—was submerged by Tuesday's Brownell-Hoover show. But although Truman left himself vulnerable by not challenging the premise

(Continued on Page 7)

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WHY DID TOM SET LUCKY FREE?

Luciano's ghost haunts Dewey; deal is reported to let Wicks slip out

By Elmer Bendiner

TWO men, neither in Albany last week, dominated and symbolized the special session of the Assembly: Joseph E. (Joey) Fay, now in Dannemora, and Charles (Lucky) Luciano, free and prospering in Italy.

Neither would have entered the Albany picture if the campaign had not scraped a little of the muck of New York politics, revealing among other things a list of highly-placed politicians who visited extortionist Fay while he was in Sing Sing. On the list was Senate majority leader, president pro-tem of the Senate and Acting Lt. Gov. Arthur H. Wicks.

WON'T BE A GOAT: Gov. Dewey, feeling called upon to take action, picked Wicks as a scapegoat, asked for his resignation as president pro-tem which puts him first in line of succession to the governorship. Wicks declined the goat role, bucked all efforts to persuade him to go quietly. When GOP's state exec. committee resolved to accept Wicks' resignation if offered, Wicks hit back, said if the committee were going to take seriously his visits to Fay they ought to consider the precedent set in the case of Charles (Lucky) Luciano. Wicks said:

"One day a certain character visited Luciano at Dannemora Prison. Next day Luciano was transferred to the much less strict prison at Great Meadows. This transfer could not have

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

AS THE CITY FATHERS TOASTED

1,000 jam budget hearings in demand for new schools

MORE than 1,000 sign-carrying parents, teachers, pupils, local political leaders, and leaders of civic groups, their spokesmen armed with data proving N.Y. City's chronic neglect of its schools, last Monday afternoon jammed the Board of Estimate chamber, overflowed rotunda and hallway outside, and spilled down the circular marble staircase, choking the rear approaches to City Hall. They had come to the first of two public hearings on the 1954 capital budget of $531,745,343, topic for that day being the $80,119,702 earmarked for education.

Mayor, Mayor-elect, Controller and Pres. of the City Council were basking in warmer climes. Their substitutes took the rap from angry demonstrators.

"TOO FRESH": United Parents Assn. vice-pres. Mrs. Irene Thorp declared it "humiliating and frustrating" to speak at a public meeting "our elected officials are not sufficiently interested in to attend." Bronx Borough Pres. James J. Lyons called Mrs. Thorp "too fresh." The absentee officials, he said, have been exhausted by their strenuous campaigning.

Miss Elizabeth Spisa spoke for the Queensboro Fedn. of Mothers Clubs, called the session "one of the biggest farces that has even been pulled on the citizens of New York." She added: "It is not a lame-duck session—it is a dead duck session. We can assure the Board of Estimate that the Queensboro Federation, which represents 140 parent groups in Queens, will take steps to see that such a situation does not arise again and that our elected officials are seated at the next public hearings which concern education."

WHAT CITY NEEDS: United Parents Assn. exec. secy. Harold Siegel, representing 275,000 parents, said the Board knew "that this budget you are now considering is not adequate to relieve overcrowding, to place our school plant in decent condition, or to purchase for even one year in advance the sites that are needed so that school buildings can be planned in some rational manner."

Charles J. Bensley, chairman of the Board of Education's building and sites committee, declaring that the $80-odd millions allocated for new schools was "by far the largest program of expenditure ever proposed anywhere in the world" for new construction in a single year, conceded that the city must provide $600,000,000 more for 312 additional buildings costing $425,000,000; 198 sites at $40,000,000; engineering and architectural expenses, some $15,000,000, and modernization projects coming to about $120,000,000.

Death & education

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, all governments in the U.S. (federal, state, local) spent per person:

War—arms, atomic energy, foreign aid	$332
Education	60

ASP Workshop photo

THEY CAN'T AFFORD $43 A ROOM
Mr. Moses didn't mention these children in his Coliseum site prospectus

THE COLUMBUS CIRCLE STORY

Coliseum bulldozers threaten to make 3,000 homeless; residents sitting tight till city houses them decently

By Ione Kramer

THE west view of the swanky apartments on Central Park South is not pretty. It includes several run-down residential hotels, two rows of dilapidated old-law (pre-1901) tenements on 59th St., three parking lots, a variety of small shops, a few office buildings and the old International Theater, now a TV studio, on an arc of Columbus Circle.

The view is to be improved under plans calling for remodeling the whole area (bounded by 57th and 59th Sts., B'way, 9th and Columbus Avs.) to house the city's $20 million convention-and-exhibition hall, known as the Coliseum, and two high-rent apartment houses.

THE DOUGH: The project is designed to bring in $50-100 million annually in new business; but unless the 3,000 working people who live in the area now can win their fight for decent relocation the Coliseum will mean only that they must move into more crowded, ill-heated, rat-ridden apartments—and the city's new income from conventioneers will scarcely percolate down to them.

The project is another of the "slum clearance" building programs under Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, which uses ⅔ federal and ⅓ city money to buy up condemned land and sell it back inexpensively to private developers.

THE VICTIMS: None of the people who now live on the site can afford to move back into the 528 apartments which will be built behind the Coliseum. The cheapest rent: $43 a room ($172 for a 4-room apartment).

Present tenants pay an average $33.23 per month; 55% of the families earn less than $2,000 a year. The elaborate brochure put out by the Coliseum's builders (Triboro Bridge and Tunnel Corp. headed by City Planning Commissioner Robert Moses) to attract investors says the site is "ideal for the thousands of business and professional people who prefer to live near their offices to avoid inconvenience and loss of time in traveling."

NEIGHBORS UNITED: For six years since Moses first advanced the Coliseum plan, site residents have lived uneasily. "It has made us all more conscious of the great need for more low-rent housing," said Negro restaurant cook and tenant leader John Cutch.

The neighborhood rallied and stayed united. Before three mayors and many city and state officials, including mayor-elect Robert F. Wagner, delegations asked that the project be accompanied by a low-rent apartment development. Local churches lent meeting-space, sometimes permitted collections for delegations to be taken at their meetings. Site tenants joined forces with their neighbors just to the north to lobby for rent controls in Washington and Albany. The storefront Berean Baptist Church on 59th St. has a particular stake: most of its members will be moving away. Although his church faces dissolution, worker-minister Rev. Wm. Andrews has been active in the fight for better homes for his congregation.

DECENT HOMES NEEDED: Many of the tenants are familiar with relocation promises. Some came from the site of St. Clare's Hospital on W. 51st St., some from the site of the Amsterdam low-rent city housing project just to the north and west, but because of regulations were unable to move back in.

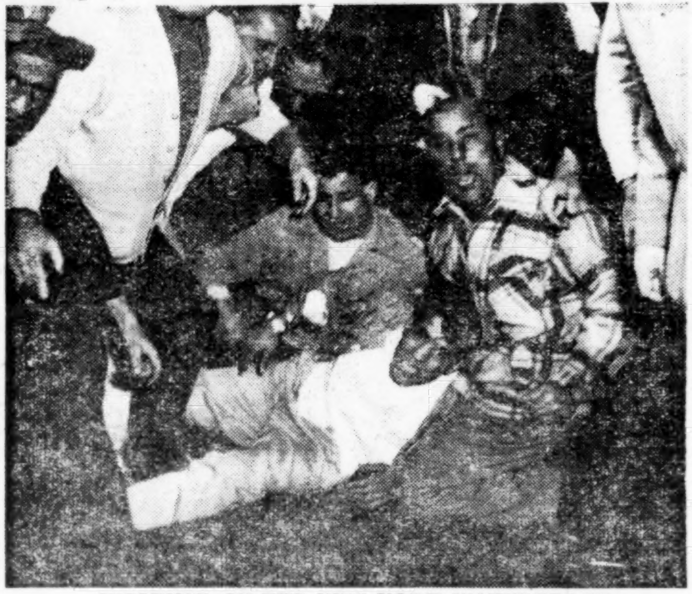
Cutch said: "They know that once you move away they [the builders] forget about you. The relocation office disappears and tenants are scattered throughout the city stuck in temporary tenement apartments. That is why we are stressing the relocation office must find us a good permanent place to live."

Especially active were some of the elderly single women who live in tiny rooms in the residence hotels. More than a third of the displaced "families" are single persons, and more than half of these are over 55. They are not eligible for low-rent project homes. Only about one-fourth of the displaced families can qualify

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

THE WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

Bedeviled ILA set to farm Ryan at $10,000 a year



VIOLENCE ON THE NEW YORK WATERFRONT
ILA men after battle with police and new union

IN Philadelphia the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. convention was preparing to turn pres. Joseph P. Ryan out to pasture. On the eve of his resignation Ryan was indicted for three different brands of larceny, a total haul of $45,000 stolen from the union over seven years. Last week's charges superseded an earlier N. Y. grand jury indictment which counted only $11,390 in loot.

For Ryan, out on $3,500 bail, the pastures were green. The union set his retirement pay at $10,000, half of his present pay, comfortable but a considerable come-down if he is now to be kept from the till.

The union also solemnly declared that it had never been "aggrieved" by Ryan's personal use of the treasury, retroactively approved all Ryan's expenditures, said that he had been empowered to use income from the ILA **Journal** at "his own uncontrolled discretion without any limitation." (Much of it had gone into Ryan's two Cadillacs, medical expenses for his relatives and a trip to Guatemala.) The delegates stood and cheered the retiring kingpin of waterfront crime shouting: "He's a good old fellow."

The bizarre ovation could be accounted for by these factors: ILA delegates are handpicked. The machine is still in power, controlled by the forces that kept Ryan in office. Ryan could point to his opposition to the Dewey scheme for regimenting the waterfront. When the chairman called: "Any opposed" to the resolutions absolving Ryan, delegates shouted: "Let Dewey oppose it."

BIG DAY, LITTLE JOY: For 26 years, N. Y. longshoremen had looked forward to the day when "King Joe" would abdicate; but with his farewell speech at hand there was little rejoicing. Within the ILA the succession was laid down: the King would be replaced by the Captain, the tugboat division's Wm. V. Bradley, long at home with the ILA's intermeshing of rackets with shipping companies—not the man for a clean-up job.

The longshoremen were bedeviled on every hand. Within the union gangsters still sat in power; outside it were threats as great or greater. A N. Y.-N. J. commission was registering longshoremen, screening them, fingerprinting some, preparing to impose the most rigid labor code in history.

"IT'S THERE": The commission announced that any longshoremen registering after Nov. 15 must supply his fingerprints and photograph along with the application. It is empowered to screen out those with felony records, those who "advocate overthrow of the U. S. government by force" or whose presence on the piers "constitutes a danger to the public peace or safety." Leniency, said commissioners, would be extended only to ex-felons.

Lawrence E. Walsh, the commission's exec. director and general counsel, at a press conference early this month described the new hiring system: "They [company hiring bosses] will pick out the men in the same mechanical method as the shape-up. . . . But the hiring will be done in a government office. Whatever that intangible is worth, it's there."

BACK TO WORK: The old leaders of the ILA had at least waged the semblance of a fight against the commission; they argued its constitutionality in court, lost suits at the lower levels, were preparing a Supreme Court appeal. They urged a boycott of the commission's registry procedures, and the longshoremen rallied to the tattered ILA banners on that issue. As the Dec. 1 deadline approached and it was clear the men's jobs were at stake, the ILA leaders passed along the word to sign up.

With a belated interest in wages the ILA leadership went along with a strike Oct. 1 (the first official one in years; customarily the rank and file strikes against the ILA leadership as well as the shipping companies.) The men were out until Oct. 6 when they went back under a Taft-Hartley 80-day injunction.

ROUGH RESCUERS: The longshoremen compared such action by the racket-ridden ILA with the behavior of their "rescuers," the newly-chartered AFL-ILA spearheaded by Dave Beck of the Teamsters Union and Paul Hall of the Seafarers' Intl. Union. The saviors had a long reputation for strong-arm techniques rivaling Ryan's squads. They came to the rescue openly declaring a raid, calling on the longshoremen to ditch not only their leaders but their union.

Their first step was to confer with Gov. Dewey and pledge co-operation with the screening program.

NO RIBBON CLERKS: The **Dockers News,** rank-and-file paper which supports the AFL-ILA, warned it to "change its cock-eyed stand on Dewey's state shape-up law." Last week the AFL-ILA admitted the law was "regimentation," said it would ask for repeal after their union had completed the raid. In the meantime they offered to take no part in the fight against the law, in the courts or out of it; the co-operation pledge still stood.

THE ACCIDENT: The war went quietly on with victims on both sides. The body of AFL hiring boss Michael Brogan was fished from the Hudson River, his death hastily listed by police as "accidental." Some brutal beatings were reported in the press, others were whispered along the grapevine.

The AFL pressed its raid in other ways, demanding a Natl. Labor Relations Board election. (Companies traditionally welcome such elections in the middle of negotiations; they offer an easy out instead of a settlement.) NLRB hearings began last Tuesday with ILA's exec. vice-pres.—taking time out from the convention—representing the ILA. The AFL-ILA last week claimed almost half the old union's membership.

Coliseum

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

for such apartments, but even these have small hope of getting one. The N. Y. Housing Authority says 11,853 low-rent apartments will be opened in 1954. There are 200,000 active applications for them on file—17 applicants per apartment.

SITZKRIEG: With no present hope of more low-rent housing for themselves, the Coliseum site tenants are now prepared to fight for decent places elsewhere with the only weapon they have left—sitting tight. A Tenants Council information office will inform residents of their rights, and stress that they don't have to take any place the relocation office suggests for them. (The Housing Act provides for relocation in "decent, safe, sanitary dwellings" at rents tenants can afford, in "areas not less desirable," pays moving expenses, estimated about $70, and the first month's rent.)

Evacuation for the Coliseum is scheduled to start April 1; tenants must be relocated and buildings down by that time.

Neighborhood Democratic leader Frank Mendoza, who will lose both his home and his basement barbershop which has served the people on 59th St. for 22 years, said he would support the fight for fair relocation, adding:

"My family is a mixed family. We don't want to be forced by discrimination to move to a run-down apartment in Harlem. We don't want to move to a ghetto."

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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THANKSGIVING PARTY, Sat., Nov. 28, 9 p.m., at 168-18 Liberty Av., Jamaica. Band, refreshments, entertainment. Speaker and guest of honor, MRS. BESSIE MITCHELL. Contribution: 75c. Sponsored by: Queens Civil Rights Committee.

LES PINE ENTERTAINS at Film Division weekly surprise party. Social, refreshments, and surprise package. Sat., Nov. 21, 9 p.m., at A. S. P. Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: $1.

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Luciano

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

been effected without some degree of sanction from the Governor, because, after all, the prisons are under the jurisdiction of the Executive Dept.

"But that is not all. On Jan. 3, 1946, Gov. Dewey granted Luciano the greatest favor at his disposal. . . . He pardoned Luciano and gave him his freedom, ostensibly because of some contributions Luciano had made to the war effort. Of

CHARLES (LUCKY) LUCIANO
He owes it all to the Guv'nor

course, Luciano was in jail during all the war period between 1936 and 1946. Whatever Luciano did for the war effort, therefore, must have been done from behind prison walls."

TOM & LUCKY: It was hard to make out a case for befriending Luciano. He was known to control syndicates specializing in policy-slips, bookmaking, usury, narcotics peddling, bootlegging, waterfront shakedowns, strong-arm "protection" in the garment industry, compulsory prostitution.

In 1936 Thomas E. Dewey, then mounting the political ladder as a crime-busting special prosecutor, prosecuted Luciano, won his conviction and a sentence of 30-50 years. In 1946, Gov. Dewey pardoned Luciano for "war services" (the Army said information Luciano allegedly offered on the Mafia was worthless); he was quickly deported and is now reportedly operating his world-wide network of crime from Italy and living high.

ALL QUIET: The GOP Senators then took a milder turn with Wicks—perhaps out of long-standing friendship, perhaps fearing explosions to which lighted wicks might lead. Wicks presided over the Senate as if nothing had happened.

A deal was reported whereby Wicks, his face saved, would resign quietly from the pro-tem presidency after the special session, retain his Senate seat, spare his colleagues the embarrassment of a vote.

Scandals and gerrymanders

Republicans were busy trying to clean away still other stains the muckraking had left. GOP Natl. Committeeman J. Russell Sprague holds 4,000 shares in the racket-ridden Yonkers Raceway. He stuck to the raceway shares, resigned his national GOP post, continued as GOP leader in Nassau County. Top GOP leader, former Supreme Ct. Justice Wm. F. Bleakley, also tried to rehabilitate himself. He had been listed as one of Fay's visitors, was general counsel for the N.Y. Racing Associations. Last week he announced his resignation from the track job, stayed with GOP brass.

CHOPPED VOTERS: Scandals aside, the special session was rushing through the GOP reapportionment scheme. Before the Legislature were two redistricting plans. There had been no public hearings on either. Westchester GOP leader Pliny Williamson's gerrymander would guarantee more representation to Republican areas, less to Democratic, reduce Negro representation, particularly from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Brooklyn leader John Crews had a plan to chop Brooklyn on such baldly pro-GOP and anti-Negro-representation lines that many legislators doubted it could stand a constitutional test. The law provides that districts must be compact and contiguous. One of Crews' proposed districts would wind all across Brooklyn to take in GOP neighborhoods.

At press time the Senate had passed the Williamson bill and sent it to the Assembly; moves were afoot to tack on the Crews scheme as an amendment.

DEMS DON'T CARE: Delegates from Brooklyn's Negro community and the American Labor Party were on hand to press for a fair reapportionment, but Democrats seemed uninterested in assailing the anti-Negro provisions of the gerrymander. Only one Democratic Senator spoke against the plan. Though Democratic State Chairman Balch read the election vote as a mandate for repeal of rent- and tax-boost legislation, the only resolutions offered by the Democrats dealt with GOP scandals, which were quietly buried in committee. ALP and Tenants Council delegates pressed other issues unsuccessfully.

On another front the Democrats left little doubt that the Tiger, not the memory of FDR, was winning the day within their party. It was virtually certain that the Natl. Committee post left vacant with the death of Boss Flynn would go not to "Liberal" Averell Harriman or Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., but to former Rep. Walter A. Lynch, unsuccessful nominee for governor in 1950. He was described as acceptable to southern Democrats as well as northern and western: a handy cog for any part of the machine.

NEW YORK MAILBAG

The split vote

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN editorial analyzing the city elections may not be correct in declaring positively that the difference between the McAvoy and the Schutzer vote was a result of ALP'ers persuaded by a "minority" to split their ALP vote to insure the defeat of Riegelman. Can you be sure that many of these votes were not those of non-ALP'ers who voted for Wagner, but who were persuaded by the "minority" to split their ticket and vote ALP the rest of the four?

Four Active ALP Workers

The GUARDIAN editorial did not make a "positive" assertion as the letter above states; it said the difference "indicates the number of ALP voters who voted for Wagner or Halley." The editorial also pointed out that normally the ALP vote has been twice the party enrollment, and the enrollment this year was 50,000. If the reasoning in the letter is correct, it must assume that the persuasion of the "minority" for ALP members to split the ticket was singularly ineffective—an assumption with which the GUARDIAN does not hold. Ed.

Temperance too

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Nov. 9 GUARDIAN was an absolutely wonderful issue. I did not think the elections could have been handled so satisfactorily, temperately and uncompromisingly, with an at least possible future perspective.

(Dr.) Annette T. Rubinstein
Campaign Manager, Comm. to Elect ALP Candidates

On Marc's resignation

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Since I have been young enough to remember, Marcantonio's work has been courageous and noteworthy. For the furthering of peace, international relations, and the welfare of the city, his name ranks higher on the list than any of our city officials, and I have the highest respect for him. But may I suggest that all struggles have required a united front, the pulling together of divided houses through determination and optimism of the outcome, not resignation? How must it look to those who are against us? Perhaps they think we have lost confidence and are weakening.

H. L.

The main job

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I believe all ALP members agree that **the important thing is the triumph of the ALP's principles.** The main question, then, is not "What will happen to the ALP?" but "What will happen to the ALP program?"

The American people know in general what they want—and I cannot agree with Dr. DuBois when he says that they don't. The great majority of the American people want peace, decent, secure livelihood and (in the case of the Negro people), full equality. What they don't yet know is how to get these things. It is the job of ALP-ers (and of progressives generally) to help them find out.

This will not be done merely by saying "Vote ALP" every election. If New Yorkers could be won simply by pointing out the double-talk, fence-straddling and corruption of the old parties, we would have an ALP administration in City Hall today. It can be done by encouraging the people **to get actively involved in some sort of political activity,** throughout the year, in their unions, churches, PTA's, tenant's associations and, where possible, through ALP clubs.

Our main job, as I see it, is and will remain: **to involve actively ever larger sections of the American people in politics** — regardless of what parties or personalities they now support. To that job the efforts of every ALP-er, every progressive, should be dedicated. To the extent that they can be involved through the ALP, let's involve them. **But let's not delude ourselves that most of them can be involved on that level yet.**

I believe that there are a few people in the ALP who are out to wreck it. These people are experts at fishing in troubled waters, inflaming personal antagonisms, converting differences into factions and factions into splits. Regardless of differences in tactics, let's keep our heads: personal abuse, throat-cutting and purges help only the enemy.

My already great respect for Marc has risen even higher, because, despite his differences with sections of the ALP, he has specifically rejected such a perspective.

Robert Claiborne

To the 54,372

BRONX, N. Y.

As former Congressman Vito Marcantonio said in 1950 on learning of his defeat for re-election: "Go home tonight with the full realization that the final victory belongs to the people." With the same words he used in 1950 I address him and the 54,372 who voted for the American Labor Party candidate McAvoy for Mayor. I urge all progressives not to quit the ALP. If the 54,372 stay with the ALP, we will once again have a strong political party fighting 365 days for the interest of people.

A Friend of the ALP

Only peace party

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Last week I attended the N.Y. County ALP meeting, the purpose of which was to discuss the future of the ALP. It was disappointing to note that virtually nothing was said regarding ALP in action in 1954, although much was said in a highly nebulous manner of how there is no question but that the ALP will continue to exist.

I believe that the ALP should continue as an independent political party. It is the only party with a peace program; and with correct and consistent activity on the part of the clubs, it can become a vital force for progress in our nation. If it is to exist as such, we must run a candidate for Governor in 1954 and receive more than 50,000 votes. If we fail to do either, we are automatically off the ballot and lose our status as a political party. Accordingly, we must see to it that the clubs are consistently active from now to the next election.

As Elmer Bendiner noted, there are still more questions than answers on the ALP and its future. It seems to me that the widest, fullest and freest possible discussion is of paramount importance. I would like to suggest that the GUARDIAN encourage its readers to air their ideas.

Emily Rose

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Federal Judge Ignacio Burgoa ruled yesterday U. S. comic books which speak disrespectfully of the Asiatic races may not be sold in Mexico. . . . The magazines contributed to racial discrimination, which is outlawed by the Mexican Constitution. The Censorship Commission held, and the judge agreed, the comic books were illegal because they called Chinese and Japanese "pigs" and "dogs."

—**Excelsior**, Mexico City, Nov. 4.

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Movie Suggestions

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **World Festival of Song and Dance** (Russ.), & **Abbott & Costello, Way Out West**, Nov. 26-27.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th **Four Poster**, thru Nov. 24; **Stalag 17**, Nov. 25-28.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Fanfan the Tulip & Beauty and the Beast** (both Fr.), Nov. 21-25.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d **Lili**, cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Stalag 17**, Nov. 25-27.

GRANDE, 86th & Lexington. **Hidden Room & Blue Lamp** (2 Br. thrillers). Nov. 24-25.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Man in the White Suit & Browning Version** (both Br.), thru Nov. 21; **Come Back Little Sheba & The Long Memory** (Br.), Nov. 22-24; **7 Deadly Sins & Pursuit to Algiers**, Nov. 25-28.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. **Martin Luther** (docum. biog.), cont.

HOLIDAY, B'way & 47th St. **The Joe Louis Story**, cont.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Little Fugitive** (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar**, cont.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 41st St. **Battle for China** (docum.), cont.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.

STODDARD, B'way & 89th. **Stalag 17**, from Nov. 25.

THALIA, B'way & 95th. **Gigi** (Fr.) & **Father's Dilemma** (It.), Nov. 21-24; **Dostoievski's Crime & Punishment** (Fr., H. Baur) & **Eternal Husband** (Fr.), from Nov. 25.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Holiday & Brave Bulls**, thru Nov. 21; **Stalag 17 & Francis (the mule) Covers Big Town**, Nov. 26-27.

YORKTOWN, B'way & 89th St. **7 Deadly Sins & Desperate Moment**, thru Nov. 21.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 8:30 & 10 p.m. Fri., Sat. & Sun., Nov. 20-22.
"The Movies & How They Grew" The "star system." Fredric March, Janet Gaynor in **A Star Is Born.**

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily.
Shorts: **Motion Painting No. 1**, Oskar Fischinger; **Boundary Lines**, Philip Stapp; **Loops & Pen Point Percussion**, Norman McLaren; **John Gilpin's Ride**, John Halas.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOC., Central Park W. & 77th St. 2 p.m. Free.
Films set in N.Y. series: **City Across the River**, Sat., Nov. 28.

Events for Children

Films

BRONX BOTANICAL GARDENS, Bronx Park, N.Y. **Mexico, Land of Color & Contrast**, illustrated with kodachromes. Sat., Nov. 28, 2:30 p.m. Museum Bldg. Free.

B'KLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, 30 Lafayette Av. **Young Bess**, newsreel & short subject. Sat., Nov. 28, 4 p.m. Adm., $1.

HENRY ST. PLAYHOUSE, 466 Grand St. Film Festival: **Gerald McBoing-Boing; Chaplin's Floor Walker; Fiddle Dee-Dee; Pacific 230; Cast From Heaven.** Sat., Nov. 28, 3 p.m. Adults, 60c; children, 10c.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. **California Gold Rush** (slide-talk); **Sutters Gold** (Ed. Arnold). For H.S. students. Program followed by gallery tour of exhibits. Tickets obtainable from H. S. Social Studies Chairman. Free.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **Birds Are Interesting; Birds of Canada; What Bird Is That?**, Wed., Nov. 25, 4 p.m. Recorded Music played 3:30-4 p.m. **Canada**, Sat., Nov. 28, 2 p.m. Free.

Plays

PINOCCHIO, Y Playhouse, YM-YWHA, Lexington Av. at 92d St. Last performance on Fri., Nov. 27, 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m. Adm.: $1-3. Half-price rates for groups of 20 or more. TR 6-2221.

SLEEPING BEAUTY, Playmart Children's Theater, Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Performances Sats., 1 & 2:45 p.m. Suns., 2:45 p.m. Nov. 21, 22, 28, 29. Adm.: $1-3. Special rates for groups of 18 or more. PL 3-0746.

THE SHOEMAKER AND THE ELVES, & variety show of Mexican songs, dances, games. Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan Duane, 201 W. 13th St., cor. 7th Av. Sats., Nov. 21 & 28 and Fri., Nov. 27, 3 p.m. Adm. 76c, $1.20 & $1.80. PL 7-6300.

INDIAN TALES AND DANCES, by Chief Tom Two Arrows. Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Sat., Nov. 21, 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

FIVE LITTLE PEPPERS AND HOW THEY GREW, by Junior Theater, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Fri., Nov. 27 & Sat., Nov. 28, 2:15 p.m. Adm. $1.20, $1.80 & $2.40.

JACK AND THE BEANSTALK, puppet play by Peggy Bridge Marionettes. Le Roy, the Magician, variety acts, magic show, community sing. Matinee for Moppets series, first program. Sub. series $3. Single adm., 75c. B'klyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. ST 3-6700.

Miscellaneous

SQUARE DANCES: Henry St. Settlement House, 301 Henry St. Folk-singing winds up the evening. Sat., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m. Adm.: $1.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, Clinton & Montague Sts., B'klyn. Sat., Nov. 28, 8-11 p.m. Gymnasium. Donations: Adults, 50c; teenagers, 25c.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERTS: Philharmonic-Symphony Society, Wilfrid Pelletier, conductor. **The Story of The Orchestra**, first in a series of five concerts for children of nine years and older. Carnegie Hall, 7th Av. & 57th St. Sat., Nov. 28, 11 a.m. Adm.: $1-3.

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Where to Go

Drama

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.

TAKE A GIANT STEP, first play by Negro playwright Louis Peterson. Presents problem rare for B'way; solution controversial. Lyceum, 47th St. E. of B'way. JU 2-3897. Thru Nov. 28.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves., 8:40. $1.20-$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 78c-$1.20, thru Dec. 20. TR 9-5480.

N. Y. CITY CENTER, 131 W. 55th St. Tues.-Sun. eves. $1.20-$36.0. Sat. & Sun. mats. $1.20-$3.
Cyrano De Bergerac, thru Nov. 22.
The Shrike, Jose Ferrer & Judith Evelyn. Nov. 25-Dec. 6.

Miscellaneous

ROBERT FROST, reading his poems. YM-YWCA Poetry Center, Lex. Av. & 92d St. Sun., Nov. 22, 8:40 p.m. $1.50-$2.50. TR 6-2366.

Music

RAY LEV, concert pianist. First performances: **Folk-Song Toccata**, by Harold Triggs, dedicated to the pianist; **Metallic Interlude**, by Anna Ringler; Shostakovitch **Prelude and Fugue** (B-flat major, No. 21). Carnegie Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Fri., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m. Tickets: $1.20-$3.60 at box office.

AMERICAN FOLK DANCES, and Their Ancestors. Country Dance Society, dir. May Gadd. B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'kway & Wash. Av. Sat., Nov. 21, 3 p.m. Free.

OLD TIMERS' ORCHESTRA, B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'kway & Wash. Av. Sun., Nov. 29, 2 p.m. Free.

AMERICAN FOLK THEMES in music & dance. Cooper Union Forum, 4th Av. & Astor Pl. Sun., Nov. 22, 8:30 p.m. Free.

IL TROVATORE, Amato Opera Theatre, 159 Bleecker St., 8:30 p.m., Nov. 20-22. Free.

LA PUMA OPERA W'KSHOP, 250 W. 91st St. Free. Reserv: write or phone TR 4-9646. **Carmen**, Sun., Nov. 22, 8 p.m.; **La Traviata**, Sun., Nov. 29, 8 p.m.

NOV. 20-22:
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New movies

THE JOE LOUIS STORY, by Robert Sylvester, directed by Robert Gordon. Holiday Theater, B'way & 47th St.

Upcoming heavyweight contender Coley Wallace depicts Louis smoothly but in well-worn terms. The champ's background is filled in by predominantly Negro cast including James Edwards, who makes Louis' trainer, "Chappie" Blackburn, come alive. The trouble is in the writing, which makes it a sports-page biography, telling nothing of the difficulties facing Negro fighters, the inside of boxing, little of the real Louis except his hatred for the Nazi Max Schmeling. Best shots are film clips of actual fights. **D. R.**

Met Music School offers scholarships

The Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74th St., announces that it is offering one full and 10 half scholarships to talented Negro and Puerto Rican piano students of intermediate and advanced grades, from 12 years old. Auditions will be held Nov. 28 at 2:15 p.m. For appointment call TR 3-2761.

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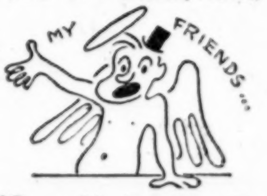

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IS THE PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC TRUCE OFF?

Presbyterians denounce cold war and witch-hunt

WITH a forthrightness that surprised many after the lukewarm curtain-raising performance of Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Velde Committee last July (GUARDIAN, 8/3), the Gen. Council of the U.S.A. Presbyterian Church on Nov. 2 struck out at both the witch-hunt and the cold war. In a 2,300-word letter to its 8,000 congregations around the country, signed by Moderator Dr. John A. Mackay, the top Presbyterian body:

- Said Americans should "take a grave view" of the present "almost exclusive concentration" on communism, "which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality" although "committed on principle to a philosophy of lying";
- Denounced attacks by Congressional "inquisitions" upon "citizens of integrity and social passion" as "utterly alien to our democratic tradition . . . particularly alien to the Protestant religious tradition";
- Saw "truth being subtly and silently dethroned," and "growing up over against communism a fanatical negativism," an "emptiness" which "in the case of a national crisis could . . . be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny. . . . The demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale. . . . Great words like 'love,' 'peace,' 'justice' and 'mercy,' and the ideas which underlie them, are becoming suspect."
- Concluded that in the struggle with "Communists, Communist nations and Communist-ruled peoples" there is "no substitute for negotiation . . . the only kind of approach which can lead to sanity. . . ."

DR. JOHN A. MACKAY
It was alien to the tradition

WARMING UP: Mostly silent on the Presbyterian blast, the witch-hunters continued to harry Bishop Oxnam who had "named" two men of his Church for Rep. Velde's benefit and then asked, but failed to get, a Velde "clean bill of health." Oxnam brought new vigor into his defense of the church in an article in **Look** (11/17), tearing apart a re-assertion by J. B. Matthews, former McCarthy henchman who started the church witch-hunt, that "a majority of all the large and influential Communist-front organizations of the past 17 years have been headed by Protestant clergymen." Velde commented:

> "Knowingly or unknowingly," Bishop Oxnam had been associated with several Communist front groups. . . . He was not "an effective fighter against communism. . . ." (N.Y. **Times**, 11/10).

The Protestant counter-attack was warming up: on Nov. 10 the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, top bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church,

> . . . vigorously assailed recent efforts to link "broad and liberal" Protestant churches to the Communist conspiracy. . . . He emphasized that the Christian Church was as opposed to trial by "uninformed public opinion" and accusation by hearsay as it is to "what may be described as a creeping fascism" . . . [The P. E. bishops] voted unanimously to make Bishop Sherrill's address an official statement of the House of Bishops' position . . . (**NYT**, 11/11).

Meanwhile the American Jewish Congress Nov. 9 at its biennial convention had denounced the Velde Committee for its "irresponsible" methods, in a resolution calling on all religious and secular groups to refuse to aid the Un-AAC probe of "red" clergymen.

CATHOLIC INFORMERS: Editorializing about the Presbyterian statement (11/4), **NYT** found in it a "tone" which "recalls to mind" a statement deploring "dishonesty, slander, detraction and defamation of character" made by the U.S. Roman Catholic bishops in 1951. How far the **Times** missed the point was brought out by Joseph C. Harsch in a Washington report for the **Christian Science Monitor.** Harsch drew attention to the Presbyterians' reference to

> . . . men and women publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former Communists, many [of whom] have done no more . . . than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another.

Harsch brought into the open what was clearly implicit in the Protestant counter-attack to McCarthyism: that the "tacit truce" with regard to "old issues between Protestant and Roman Catholic is plainly breaking down" when the Presbyterians underscore the Catholicism of such major ex-Communist informers as Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz.

PROTESTANTS PURGED: Harsch listed these effects of the witch-hunting led by Roman Catholic Sen. McCarthy:

> Government officials, seeking to protect their departments from McCarthy attacks, have increasingly resorted to employing Roman Catholics as security and personnel officers. This appears to provide immunity from attack.
>
> . . . Inquiries by this reporter have failed to find a single Roman Catholic among officials dismissed from the State Dept. A Protestant compilation of dismissals from the Foreign Operations Administration indicates that 80% of all dismissals are Protestant and that many of the 20% dismissed Roman Catholics were subsequently "re-absorbed" into the service. If the present trend were to continue, Roman Catholics, who are a minority of the American population, would become the majority of federal employes (**CSM**, 11/10).

Protestants see the possibility, Harsch reported, that "the open Roman Catholic attack on communism spearheaded by Sen. McCarthy actually is directed as much against Protestantism at home. . . ." Said the Baptist **Watchman-Examiner** (11/5):

> Congress may find it has stirred up a hornets' nest in permitting its investigatory bodies to indulge unfounded charges against Protestant ministers.

White House clemency

On Nov. 1 President Eisenhower commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of Tomoya (Meatball) Kawakita, an American-born Japanese convicted of treason in 1948. Thirty GI's had testified to Kawakita's sadistic brutality to Americans in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp in Japan in World War II.

The President, according to the N.Y. **Times** (11/3), "acted after 10 months of deliberation." He acted after less than a day's deliberation in the second clemency appeal for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

IN BAYARD HE'S THE SALT OF THE EARTH

Clinton Jencks goes on trial Nov. 30 in drive against Mine-Mill leadership

THE workers in and around Bayard, N.M., speak affectionately of Clinton Jencks, Intl. Representative of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, as "Palomino." Veterans of many battles with the metal corporations operating lead-zinc properties in the area, they are girding for another fight—to save the "Palomino" from a possible five years in jail.

Jencks goes on trial Nov. 30 in El Paso U.S. District Court on charges of "swearing falsely" in a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit signed in April, 1950, when he was pres. of Bayard Amalgamated District Union, Local 890 of Mine-Mill. He was arrested last April 17, a month after Richard Berresford, employe relations manager for New Jersey Zinc Co., testified before the House Labor Committee in Washington. "We are not trying to destroy this union," said Berresford, against whose company Local 890 won a 15-month strike in 1951-52; "we are trying to give it proper leadership."

CLINTON JENCKS
They call him "Palomino"

"SALT OF THE EARTH": The case against Jencks was brought only a few weeks after shooting of the film **Salt of the Earth** was completed in Bayard. Jencks and the entire membership of Local 890 and many of their wives and children took part in the film, written by Academy Award winner Michael Wilson (**A Place in the Sun**), which will be released this winter. It is the first U.S. feature film to deal authentically with a democratic trade union; first to face the facts about discrimination against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest; first to be made by union men and women. Only two "professionals" are in the cast: Rosaura Revueltas of Mexico City, 1950 winner of the Mexican equivalent of the Academy Award, and **Tobacco Road** star Will Geer.

The big Hollywood producers, acting through their Motion Picture Alliance, went all-out to provoke hysteria aimed at halting the picture. California Congressman Donald Jackson shouted on the House floor that the movie "misrepresented" the lives of Americans, would create "racial hatreds." The crew, the cast, the union leaders — including Jencks — were assaulted physically; Local 890's hall and a miner's home were burned; Miss Revueltas was arrested and deported; but the movie was completed.

THE WOMAN QUESTION: A major theme of **Salt of the Earth** is the struggle of Mexican-American women for equality. The indictment against Jencks was brought by an El Paso grand jury from which women were excluded. The "intentional, systematic and entire" exclusion of women from grand jury panels was freely admitted last week by Laurence Stevens, Jury Commissioner, during argument of six pre-trial motions brought by Jencks' atorneys, E. B. Elfers of El Paso and John T. McTernan of Los Angeles.

The defense motion on which Stevens was subpenaed to testify challenged the legality of the grand jury, charged that the jury was not drawn from "a cross section of the community or truly representative of it," violated "our basic concepts of a democratic society and representative government." Judge R. E. Thomason, who heard the motions and will preside over the trial, promptly overruled this and three other defense motions.

"ALL THE WAY": Completing this month a nationwide tour of key Mine-Mill locals, Jencks has found warm support everywhere. In Sept. Mine-Mill's convention in St. Louis voted to fight his case through "all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary."

The union has established a Jencks Defense Committee (412 Tabor Bldg., Denver 2 Colo.), and is urging protests to Atty. Gen. Brownell asking that the case be dropped, and inviting contributions to aid Jencks' defense.

The disease spreads

Scores of ex-policemen are being recruited by the Supply Ministry to pry into the private lives of 11,000 atom scientists and workers. . . . They are working under the direction of two former Special Branch detectives from Scotland Yard. . . . Chief reason for this further tightening of atom security is to bring it more into line with the U.S. system.

—London **Daily Express**, 9/14.

Bloch tours the nation for Rosenberg children

DR. LEONARD TUSHNET
In testament to valiant work

A check for $5,000 for the Rosenberg Children's Trust Fund was presented to their legal guardian, Emanuel Bloch, at a dinner Nov. 8 in Newark honoring Dr. and Mrs. Leonard Tushnet for their part in the Rosenberg clemency campaign. The dinner was given by the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee of N.J., of which Dr. Tushnet is chairman.

Bloch, who is now on a nationwide tour for the Trust Fund (the goal is $75,000), will be in Chicago Nov. 20-22, St. Paul Nov. 23-24, Los Angeles Dec. 2-6 (he will speak at the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand, Fri. eve. Dec. 4), San Francisco-Berkeley Dec. 8-13. For details on his speaking appearances, write the Rosenberg Children's Trust Fund, 401 Broadway (Rm. 810) New York, N.Y.

Hallinan convicted, appeals tax charge

AFTER a trial lasting two months, a San Francisco jury Nov. 14 deliberated 14½ hours and brought in a guilty verdict against lawyer Vincent Hallinan, the Progressive Party's 1952 Presidential candidate who was jailed in that year for "contempt" in his militant defense of longshore leader Harry Bridges. With his wife Vivian, Hallinan was charged with evading $65,221 in taxes for the years 1946-50. He was found guilty on the 1947-50 charges and faces a maximum of 25 years in jail and $50,000 fine. Freed on $2,500 bail, he failed in a plea for a new trial but will serve notice of appeal Dec. 6 when sentence is to be passed.

Tax agents had testified that the Hallinans illegally charged off as business expenses payments to relatives, for repairs etc., in connection with Mrs. Hallinan's apartment house ventures; and that expenses claimed in connection with the Bridges trial were in fact paid by other persons. They also claimed a "deliberate" lack of records on his law-office income showed Hallinan's intention to cheat the government. The manager of the building housing the office testified that he had ordered the basement cleared of papers, which Hallinan said included his missing records, and that when he found out about this Hallinan was "indignant"; a tenant of the building recalled on the stand that Hallinan "was practically in tears" and said: "They'll disbar me for this." One of two police officers, who testified about another episode in 1952 when Hallinan's office was burglarized, said: "It was right after the Bridges case, and we figured someone was looking for Hallinan's records."

POOR MAN'S CHAMPION: Going through all sums he had charged to business expenses, Hallinan conceded that $5,200—"1/25 of 1% of our total income for the period"—was wrongly deducted as against $113,000 charged by the government. He admitted delaying two years the payment of 1943 taxes, said he had done it to invest in real estate, insisted anyone had the right to do that if he paid 6% interest to the government: "Whenever the government wanted it, it could always come and demand it." In the period covered by the indictment, Hallinan listed many expenses he could have charged but did not, to prove his claim he "does not owe the government a cent."

Defense witnesses drew a picture of Hallinan as a lawyer continually taking up the causes of poor and uninfluential people and charging nominal fees or none at all. Mitchell Bourquin, local attorney, told how he had referred a damage suit involving a gravely injured boy to Hallinan, who said the boy should get whatever could be won and "the lawyer would have to be satisfied with what was left." Edward Washer, a Bank of America employe discharged in the '30's, told how Hallinan worked for six years on his suit against the bank; the case failed, and Hallinan refused to accept even the $2,500 Washer was to give him for expenses.

"IT'S SUBVERSIVE": Mrs. Vivian Hallinan, author of the book **My Wild Irish Rogues** about her 21-year marriage and the six Hallinan sons each named after an Irishman who fought the British, was acquitted. Federal Judge Edward P. Murphy conducted the case with great fairness; while the press in other cities ignored the case, the S.F. **Chronicle** reported it fairly.

Internal Revenue witnesses kept warily away from political references. (Hallinan charged at the outset that the case was politically motivated.) But when defense counsel James C. Purcell defended as "directly related" to business—and therefore allowable as a deduction—money Hallinan spent in helping raise a Bridges defense fund, Revenue agent Richard Nossen said the fund had been "designated subversive" by the Atty. General and gifts to it were therefore non-deductible.

"But," asked Purcell, "the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union [Bridges' union] is not subversive?"

"That," said Nossen, "is correct."

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(Continued from Page 4)

that White was a spy—even though a grand jury refused to indict him—he made some powerful statements to be long remembered (see his definition of McCarthyism on p. 4).

HARRY TALKS UP: Angered at being beaten around the ears with a club essentially of his own fashioning, he had this to say of the original accusation against him:

"If this sordid, deliberate and unprecedented attack on the loyalty of a former President of the U. S. will serve to alert the people to the terrible danger that our nation and each citizen faces, then it will have been a blessing in disguise. I hope this will arouse you to fight this evil at every level in our national life. I hope that this may serve to stir the conscience of the present Administration itself."

COMING SHORTLY: From Washington came no sounds of consciences stirring. Instead, it was announced that **Joe McCarthy** had demanded—and would likely get—equal radio and TV time to answer Truman's "very unflattering" attack upon him.

Almost unnoticed in the whoop-de-do was a neat coup by Brownell, who used his appearance before the Jenner Committee to plump for his two favorite bills—one to legalize evidence secured by wire-tapping, the other to cancel the Fifth Amendment by granting immunity to witnesses. If the present atmosphere prevails when Congress convenes, there is little question that both will be made law.

CAN DEMOCRACY LIVE? At stake is American democracy. Prof. Wilson in his **Nation** article summed it up:

> American democracy has withstood public apathy, judicial supremacy, Congressional corruption, and weak unimaginative Presidents, but it cannot survive rule by informers, political police, and delinquents in government. Democracy is jettisoned when suspicion becomes the equivalent of indictment and accusation of conviction. The political process becomes impossible when disagreement and criticism take the form of charging treason.

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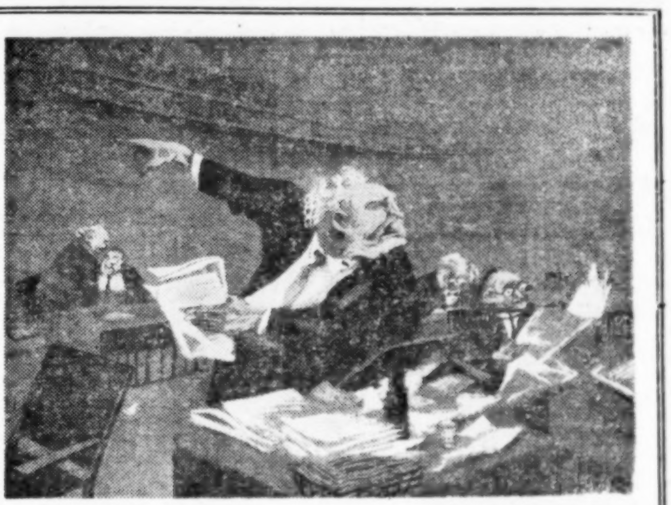

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Wrong man shouting

WICHITA, KAN.

The GUARDIAN is good—and very awakening. "Wake up, America!" they shout. Who shouts? Why, big business. But the ones that should shout that slogan are more men like myself and those who read your paper. Long may it live, and men like C. B. who can keep it alive.

Chas. F. Frohne

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On 30-minute L. P. Records

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$5 for THREE MONTHS

(Less than 25c per month, if 8 people listen together)

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A mail order service offering consumer-tested merchandise at a saving.

BORG SCALE

Rated best by Ind. Consumer Research Org. Super-binocular dial makes reading easy. Hard-baked (chip proof) enamel finish. Chrome plated head. Available in green, peach, blue or white. Indicate 1st, 2nd choice. Shipping wgt. 9 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$7.95	$5.96

All Chrome model. Shipping wgt. 9 lbs.

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$11.95	$8.95

AUTOMATIC DEFROSTER.

Defrosts your refrigerator automatically. Shipping wgt. 2 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
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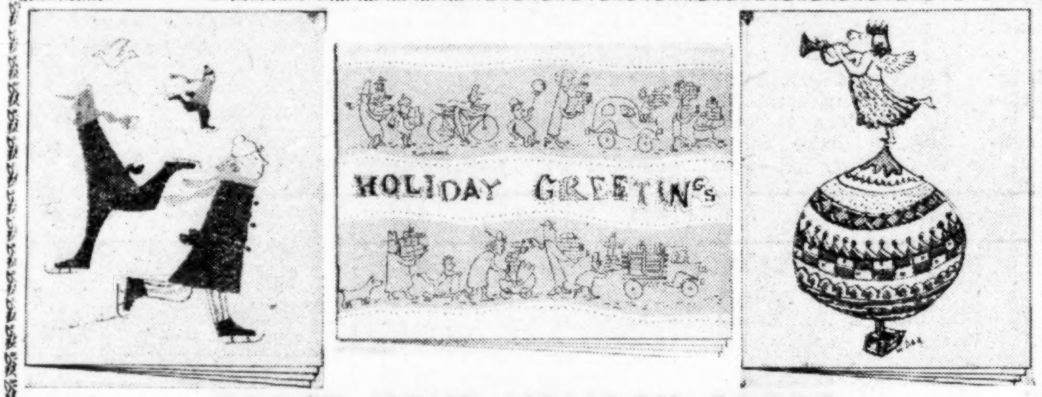


ORDER YOUR HOLIDAY CARDS

while the supply lasts!

Above are depicted three of the eight designs that constitute this year's set of Guardian Holiday Cards. They have been drawn especially for us and include a variety of designs to meet varying needs. The cards are in four bright, gay colors and are printed on fine white vellum stock. In addtion to the frontpiece design, each card has a hand lettered "Season's Greetings" inside with a place to sign your name and write an additional message. Each card is 5¼"x6½". The cards are available only in sets consisting of one each of the eight designs.

Order your set TODAY!

When you see the cards, you'll want more.

SET OF 8 CARDS WITH ENVELOPES **$1** ppd.

Write for FREE Buying Service catalog.

SO EASY TO IRON . . .
SO EASY TO USE!
Flip Up Top

STEAM-O-MATIC IRON

Saves time, work, money. Quality features: Du-all fabric dial selects fabric by name and adjusts heat for each. Steam vents in toe directs steam where needed. Air-cooled handle shaped to rest comfortably in hand. Light weight. Uses ordinary tap water, no distilled water necessary. Stainless steel insulated broiler. Steams up to 1½ hours. Empties easily. Shipping wgt. 6 lbs.

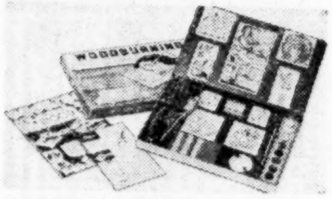
List Price	Guard. Price
$19.95	$13.95

Walt Disney's
Peter Pan
HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

SIMON & SCHUSTER BIG "GOLDEN RECORDS" FOR CHILDREN

Set of 6 unbreakable records by the nation's leading children's record manufacturer. Each record performed by top Hollywood and TV artists. Set includes: "Golden Treasury of Folks Songs," "Songs from Hans Christian Andersen," "Golden Treasury of Lullabies," "Golden Treasury of Train Songs," "Songs from Peter Pan," "Songs from Pinocchio." Shipping wgt. 2 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$6.00	$4.50



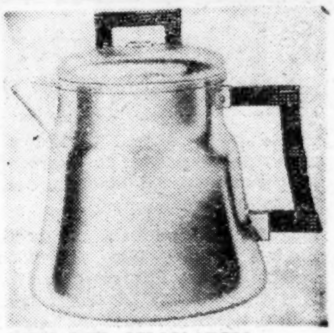
WOODBURNING SET

Contains: cord set; heating unit; 2 brass thread-in tips for wood, leather, cork, plastic; 1 foil embossing tip; 6 sheets of metallic embossing foil in different colors; emery cloth; 7 wood plaques; 3 pc. cigarette or napkin holder project; mixing pan, No. 2 brush; 8 water colors; complete instruction folder ....postpaid $3

ELECTRONIC
WALKIE TALKIES

2 WAY WALKIE TALKIES

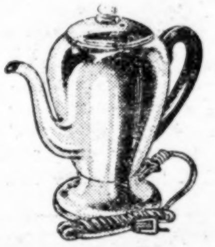
Magnetically operated. No batteries. Comes completely ready to use ....postpaid $4



WEAR-EVER PERCOLATORS

Made of heavy sheet aluminum. Broad at bottom to give complete coverage of burner. Bakelite handles.

Size	List Price	Guard. Price
Shipping wgts. 2 lbs.		
2 cup	$3.20	$2.56
4 cup	$3.50	$2.80
6 cup	$3.75	$3.00
Shipping wgts. 3 lbs.		
8 cup	$4.00	$3.20
12 cup	$4.85	$3.88



MIRRO-MATIC ELECTRIC PERCOLATOR

Completely automatic. Makes 4 to 8 cups. Keeps drinking-hot for hours. Stops automatically when coffee is done. Walnut colored plastic handle. Shipping wgt. 6 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$12.95	$9.70

In gleaming chromium plate.

List Price	Guard. Price
$19.95	$14.95

CAMFIELD AUTOMATIC COFFEE MAKER.

Flawless mirror chrome finish automatically brews coffee up to 10 cups. Shipping wgt. 6 lbs.

List Price	Guard. Price
$29.95	$21.95

CHECK GBS BEFORE YOU BUY

If you need anything in appliances, housewares, linen, cameras, watches, etc., write us and we will let you know if we can get it and at what saving.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	

TOTAL

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

All Sales Fully Guaranteed. Money Back If Not Satisfied!

Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

Name ....

Address ....

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE **17 Murray Street, New York 7**

PARCEL POST RATES

Please determine postage from chart below and add to item cost. Shipping weights are noted with each item. Distances in chart are from New York City. "Local" refers to Manh. & Bronx only. Other boros Zone 1 & 2.

WEIGHT IN LBS. OVER 8 OZ. TO	Local	1 & 2 Up to 150 Miles	3 150 to 300 Miles	4 300 to 600 Miles	5 600 to 1,000 Miles	6 1,000 to 1,400 Miles	7 1,400 to 1,800 Miles	8 Over 1,800 Miles
1	$0.18	$0.23	$0.23	$0.24	$0.26	$0.28	$0.30	$0.32
2	.20	.27	.29	.31	.36	.40	.46	.51
3	.21	.31	.34	.38	.45	.52	.61	.69
4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
18	.43	.91	1.11	1.42	1.84	2.32	2.89	3.39
19	.45	.95	1.16	1.49	1.93	2.44	3.04	3.57
20	.46	.99	1.21	1.56	2.02	2.56	3.19	3.75